

Paymaster's Quarters (Lockwood House)
(Harpers Ferry National Historical Park)
East End of Fillmore Street
Harpers Ferry
Jefferson County
West Virginia

HABS No. WV-179

HABS
WVA
19-HARF
14-

PHOTOGRAPHS
REDUCED COPIES OF MEASURED DRAWINGS
WRITTEN DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL DATA

Historic American Buildings Survey
National Park Service
Department of the Interior
Washington, D.C. 20240

THE PAYMASTER'S QUARTERS

Location Storer College Campus, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

Present Owner Storer College, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

Present Occupant None. Rented to Tenants.*

Present Use Residential.

Brief Statement of Significance

The structure was erected in 1847-48 by the Federal Government and used as the residences of paymasters of the U. S. Armory at Harpers Ferry, W. Va., from 1848-1861.

PART I. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

This building was designed at the direction of Major John Symington, Superintendent of the U. S. Armory in Harpers Ferry, W. Va., and built by the Federal Government between 1847-1848. No original plans have been discovered, but the specifications and estimates are in the microfilm files at the Harpers Ferry National Monument, Reel 23, Vol. 3, page 243. The building was used as the residences of the paymasters of the Armory from 1848 to 1861. These gentlemen were 1848-1858, Col. Edward Lucas, and 1858-1861, Dr. Dennis Murphy. In September, 1864, this house was used by General Philip H. Sheridan, USA, as his headquarters while at Harpers Ferry, W. Va. The building was donated by the Government to Storer College at the date of its establishment. It was subsequently used for school purposes and, for a time, as a hotel. Old photographs of the buildings are to be found in the Photographic Files at the Harpers Ferry National Monu-

* See note at end of data

ment and are indexed as HF-78 and HF-341. Obvious alterations include a change of the main entrance from the East Elevation to the West Elevation; and an addition of two floors and mansard roof which, according to local tradition, was built in the 1880's. The first and second floors were also renovated to provide bathrooms and miscellaneous storage space.

PART II. ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

The Paymaster's Quarters is a wall bearing brick masonry building of four stories occupying 2800 square feet of ground area. This building is similar to the other residences in Harpers Ferry built by the Government during the mid-19th century differing in detail and because of alterations. The building, in spite of these revisions, is structurally sound and plumb. Foundation walls are of stone masonry in various combinations of coursed and dressed rubble and extend above grade to a stone belt course at the first floor. The brick walls are laid in common bond varying from 1'-2" to 1'-8" in thickness. Chimneys are of brick and topped with cement wash caps and are large enough to accommodate fireplaces at the first and second floors.

Exterior masonry openings appear to be the original with the exception of one doorway on the West Elevation. Entrance doorways are side and top lighted with heavy wood pediment and plain wood trim. The wood doors have four panels. Double hung wood sash of six lights over six are set in wood frames. Shutters are missing but shutter dogs remain.

The building has a mansard roof covered top and sides with slate

shingles. On top and at center is a wood captain's walk. Dormers are of wood with tops and sides covered with slate shingles. The cornice is of corbelled brick with stone set at the corners of the building.

The building is rectangular in plan. At the first floor there is a porch extending along the West Elevation. The interior space is divided into four large rooms about a central stair hall, from which stairs lead to the second floor and to the basement. Recently the first floor has been renovated to include baths, closets, etc., and the original vestibule closed and used for storage. The second floor has been similiary revised. The third and fourth floors are divided into dormitory-like rooms and baths. The stair between the first and second floors appears to be the original and is of one straight run. The stairs between the second, third, and fourth floors were constructed when these floors were added. A ship's ladder serves the captain's walk.

The finishing materials throughout the first and second floor are the original in part. The wood flooring on these floors varies from 4" to 7" boards except where replaced with 2" strips. Walls are consistantly plastered on wood 1st or directly upon masonry. The ceilings are stripped with wood and plastered between. Trim around the first floor windows is designed so as to accommodate interior shutters, some of which are missing, that could be folded into a reveal in the jamb. There is wood paneling beneath the window sill, a plaster cornice in two first floor rooms and wood wainscots in the central hall, part of the basement, and in part of the stair hall second floor. Doorways are characterized by pseudo-wood pediments embellished with

plaster rosettes. Doors are of wood, generally of four panels. One closet door has six ornate panels. Of the original hardware, only the shutter dogs remain.

Fireplaces are closed and mantles removed. Thimbles have been provided for stoves and there is evidence of a heater or boiler pit in the basement. The house is poorly lighted with a primitive electrical system with no evidence remaining of the original systems.

The Paymaster's Quarters is located on the Storer College Campus on a high bluff overlooking the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers, Harpers Graveyard, and the majority of Harpers Ferry and Bolivar, W. Va.

Prepared by F. Blair Reeves
August 28, 1958

* After the dissolution of Storer College, the building was taken over by the National Park Service, which currently, (1976) maintains it as a museum.

ADDENDUM TO
PAYMASTER'S QUARTERS
(Lockwood House)

East End of Fillmore Street, Camp Hill
Harper's Ferry National Historical Park
Jefferson County
West Virginia

HABS No. WV-179

HABS
WVA
19-HARF,
14-

WRITTEN HISTORICAL & DESCRIPTIVE DATA
REDUCED COPIES OF MEASURED DRAWINGS
PHOTOGRAPHS

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY
National Park Service
U.S. Department of Interior
P.O. Box 37127
Washington D.C. 20013-7127

HABBS
WVA
19-HARF,
14-

HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDINGS SURVEY

Addendum To:
PAYMASTER'S QUARTERS
(Lockwood House)

(Page 5)
HABBS No. WV-179

Location: Fillmore Street, Camp Hill, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry, Jefferson County, West Virginia.

The Paymaster's Quarters is situated at the crest of a ridge called Camp Hill above the Lower Town of Harpers Ferry and Shenandoah River. The lot is bounded to the east by the remaining fenceposts of Harper Cemetery and to the west by a row of trees lining the Brackett House lot. The house was originally oriented towards the gap in the Blue Ridge Mountains through which the Potomac River flows after joining with the Shenandoah River.

Universal Transverse Mercator Coordinates: longitude 39° 19' 14", latitude 77° 44' 8"

Present Owner/
Occupant: National Park Service
Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

Present Use: Harpers Ferry National Historical Park offices

Significance: Prominently located on the eastern crest of Camp Hill at the head of a row of four residences for Armory officials, the Paymaster's Quarters has survived innumerable structural changes. First erected in 1847-49, the Paymaster's Quarters was one of many architectural improvements to the Harpers Ferry Armory designed and executed by Superintendent John Symington. In 1858, extensive modifications were made to the residence of the paymaster, including the addition of a second story. During the Civil War, Generals Lockwood and Sheridan appropriated the house for their headquarters; it subsequently suffered extensive damage. In 1865, Nathan C. Brackett organized a school in the Paymaster's Quarters. Sponsored by the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Board, the school was among the earliest organized educational programs available to African-Americans in Harpers Ferry. From its modest beginnings in the Paymaster's Quarters, the school developed into Storer College, one of the few African-American colleges in the country at the time of its incorporation in 1867.

As Storer College evolved, so did the Paymaster's Quarters. Although the building functioned only temporarily as a classroom and dormitory, it housed a summer boarding house and hotel, which was known as the Lockwood House, for almost fifty years. The construction of a Mansard roof on the Paymaster's Quarters ca. 1883 provided ten additional rooms for summer boarders which were occasionally used during the academic year by Storer students. After the addition of former Storer College property to Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, the exterior of the Paymaster's Quarters was returned to its pre-Civil War appearance in a restoration project which included the removal of its Mansard roof.

PART I. HISTORICAL INFORMATION

A. Physical History:

1. Date of erection: 1847-1849. The Paymaster's Quarters was designed under the direction of Major John Symington, the Superintendent of the U. S. Armory in Harpers Ferry. On August 8, 1846, Congress appropriated \$15,000 to build residences for the Armory Superintendent and Paymaster. At this time, the Paymaster was living in the two-story brick residence originally built for the Superintendent in 1808-09 which Symington planned to convert into offices for the Armory. Although construction of the Superintendent's House began almost immediately, the Secretary of War did not authorize the clearing of the site allotted for the Paymaster's Quarters until April 1847. The former residence of John H. Hall, occupied at the time of its demolition by the Superintendent's Clerk A. M. Kitzmiller, had stood on this site at the eastern crest of Camp Hill since the 1820s. Construction of the original building was authorized by Colonel George Talcott, chief of the Ordnance Department, on May 28, 1847, begun in July, and largely completed in the fall of 1848 (Reel 19, vol. 3, p. 302). Construction of outbuildings and final finishing work continued into the following year. Stovepipe was installed, the brick cornice laid, and the east portico and west gallery completed in 1849. In his annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1849, Symington reported to the Ordnance Department that the Paymaster's Quarters was completed and occupied (*Serial No. 549*, Document No. 1, p. 366, item No. 7).

2. Architect: The Paymaster's Quarters was designed by Major John Symington, the Superintendent of the federal Armory in Harpers Ferry from 1844 to 1851. Symington had been trained as an engineer at West Point. Like other superintendents before him, Symington was responsible for the design and construction of all new Armory buildings. However, Symington was the first superintendent to institute both a consistent architectural style to be used in all Armory buildings and an overall plan of streets and lots which influenced future growth in Harpers Ferry.

3. Original and subsequent owners, occupants, uses: Originally built as a residence for the Paymaster, the second ranking official of the Armory, the building served this purpose for less than fifteen years. In 1848, Edward Lucas, Jr., became the first paymaster to inhabit the new quarters. Originally, the basement contained the kitchen in the northwest corner and a room for servants (Col. Craig to Secretary of War J. B. Floyd, June 4, 1858; Reel 20, vol. 7, p. 675). The first floor comprised the living quarters for the Paymaster and his family, with a dining room in the center which was lit by a skylight.

After Lucas died in March 1858, Dr. Dennis Murphy was appointed paymaster. Following the completion of the second-story addition near the end of 1858, Murphy, his wife Margaret, and their five children lived in the Paymaster's Quarters until the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861.

During the Civil War, the Paymaster's Quarters was variously inhabited and abused by both Union and Confederate troops, and even, on occasion, by their horses. General Henry H. Lockwood occupied the Paymaster's Quarters in 1863, from July to mid-October. Although his stay there was relatively brief, the house has been known as Lockwood House ever since.

The following year, General Philip H. Sheridan used the house as his headquarters while he was in Harpers Ferry for a week in early August. Sheridan's brief residence was immortalized by J. E. Taylor's drawing of "General Sheridan's Headquarters at Harpers Ferry" published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* on September 3, 1864 (HF-341). According to former Park Architect Archie Franzen's report, soldiers' names, the names and numbers of their units, and dates of their occupation have been found all over the walls on the first two floors of the house.

After Sheridan left Harpers Ferry, the Medical Purveyor was stationed in the Paymaster's Quarters. Assistant Surgeon F. H. Patton tried to use the house as an office and storehouse, but he complained in a letter to Captain Burleigh on September 15, 1864 of "several of the windows being without sash, the doors without locks, and the roof leaking badly" (Flagg Collection, Reel 62). Attempts were made to repair some of the worst damage, but this work amounted to little more than a temporary patch-up job which was helped little by a small accidental fire on December 18, 1864. An inspection report issued by Brigadier General Edward D. Ramsay on July 27, 1865 noted that the building had particularly suffered at the hands of Union soldiers, at least according to local testimony:

The costly quarters of the Superintendent of the Armory and of the paymaster, and other conspicuous and valuable buildings belonging to the government, have been wantonly abused, and I am sorry to say, as I am credibly informed, mostly by our own troops. [...] To repair these buildings will involve an expense of at least one-half of their original cost.

The Paymaster's Quarters was listed in bad condition. The staircases had been used as fuel, mantels torn down, and holes from shells riddled the exterior walls of the northwest room on the first floor. At the time of the report, the house was still being used as the Medical Purveyor's office (Photostatic Coll., map drawer 10).

In the winter of 1864, Julia Mann, niece of educator Horace Mann, seems to have opened the first school in the Paymaster's Quarters to teach "refugee slaves." In October of the following year, Nathan C. Brackett arrived in Harpers Ferry under the auspices of the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Board. Brackett was in charge of organizing missionary schools for African-Americans throughout the Shenandoah Valley, including one in Harpers Ferry which was organized by December of that year. Brackett and his new wife Louise Wood Brackett were installed in the former Paymaster's Quarters which the Ordinance Department had authorized the Freedman's Bureau to use, at least temporarily. When the Bracketts arrived, the basement rooms of the house were occupied by two or three families of former slaves who had been placed there by the Freedman's Bureau. A sick German veteran of the Union army and his family were living in what was, according to Mary Brackett Robertson's account, the only habitable room on the second floor due to the extensive damage the roof had suffered during the war. The first floor served as both a school and a church meeting place as well as living quarters for the Bracketts and varying numbers of teachers working in Harpers Ferry and the surrounding area. Although there is some discrepancy between various reminiscences and historical accounts, the northeast room may have been used as the first school room. During his investigation of the structure, Archie Franzen discovered remnants of a blackboard on one wall in this room. During the first couple of years of the project, the Paymaster's Quarters served as the headquarters for the Shenandoah

Valley Mission.

On October 2, 1867, Storer Normal School opened in Paymaster's Quarters with nineteen students. During this first winter of Storer's operation, the Paymaster's Quarters continued to serve as the headquarters for both the mission and the school with the two adjoining south rooms on the first floor used for school and church meetings. The east portico was still used as the main entrance, particularly for the school and church services. Louise W. Brackett later remembered that the west porch was so rotten that most of it had been blown off during one of the first winters in the Paymaster's Quarters. The rest of the house was shared between the Brackett and Morrell families, two or more teachers, and a few students who had travelled far distances to reach the school on Camp Hill. Until they left Harpers Ferry at the end of the first year, the Morrell family occupied the two north rooms on the first floor.

By this time, the five rooms on the second floor had been patched and repaired to the point where they were at least habitable. According to Louise Brackett, in the fall of 1867 the Bracketts shared the southwest room with the adjoining southeast room as a sitting room which contained a curtained bed for guests. In a letter dated September 6, 1917 in which she recounted the early history of Storer College to President Henry T. McDonald, Martha W. L. Smith, one of the teachers who assisted the Bracketts on the Shenandoah Mission, indicated that she and her family had occupied this room with the curtained bed in the fall of 1867. The small room at the end of the hall was used as a sleeping room and the northwest room was used by the teachers. The northeast room may have been a kitchen/dining room, although Nathan Brackett suggested that the kitchen was located on the first floor.

An act of Congress, passed on December 3, 1868, granted the Paymaster's Quarters along with the three neighboring residences of Armory officers (Brackett House, Morrell House, and the Superintendent's House which had been built on Camp Hill in the decades before the Civil War) and seven acres of land on that site to Storer College. The school and mission headquarters remained in the Paymaster's Quarters until the following year when they were moved to the former Superintendent's House, which would later become known as Anthony Hall. Until Lincoln Hall was completed in 1871, the Paymaster's Quarters was used as a dormitory for young men.

Although after 1871 the Paymaster's Quarters was no longer a central fixture of the school, it did become a source of income for the college. As early as 1876, the Paymaster's Quarters was the first college building to be used as a summer boarding house, according to the "Supplemental Notes" published in 1891 with Kate Anthony's history of Storer College. In a letter to Mrs. Mosher dated March 14, 1878, President Brackett noted that the Lockwood House had been used as a summer boarding house "for a few years past." At least as early as 1879, an African-American couple, Sarah and William Lovett, began operating a summer boarding house in the Paymaster's Quarters. Around 1883 when the Mansard roof addition was complete, the Paymaster's Quarters was a busy hotel which was known as Lockwood House. After William Lovett's death in December 1888, Sarah Lovett continued to operate the hotel with the assistance of her children. James Lovett worked as the chef for many years, while the position of hotel clerk was filled first by Thomas S. Lovett and later by Maggie Lovett Daniel and her husband Allen P. Daniel. As Mary Brackett Robertson remembered, the Lockwood House was a very successful hotel which featured entertainment

by the Lovett family: "Every evening throughout the season the family used to gather around the piano and entertain their guests and themselves with singing. The piano stood in the big hall and the porches were filled with appreciative listeners." In spite of the fact that President McDonald informed Mrs. A. P. Daniels in a letter dated December 22, 1923 that the college wanted full possession of the building, the Daniels continued to operate their summer hotel in the former Paymaster's Quarters until 1926 (see HABS No. WV-171 for more information about summer boarding on Camp Hill). Apparently, the college had considered selling the Paymaster's Quarters in the early 1920s, but by 1926 had reconsidered, as President McDonald explained in a letter dated November 26, 1926 to Dr. Anthony.

Even while the Paymaster's Quarters functioned as a boarding house and hotel, it was occasionally drafted into service during the school year when there was an overflow of students needing accommodations. In May 1909, the *Farmers Advocate* reported that students had been moved to the Paymaster's Quarters following a fire which had destroyed the old wood frame Lincoln Hall on April 12. According to the minutes of a Board of Trustees meeting, in 1911 the Paymaster's Quarters was opened as a girls' dorm "at considerable expense" with Miss Peyton as Superintendent. From as early as 1926, the Trustees of Storer College had considered remodeling the Paymaster's Quarters, along with Morrell and Brackett houses, to provide additional permanent dormitory space for the college. A few months later, the General Board of Education inspected the Storer College campus. According to a letter sent to the Trustees on February 15, 1927, President McDonald was hopeful that the General Board of Education's inspection of the campus might lead to the offer of funds for the renovation of Lockwood (Paymaster's Quarters), Brackett, and Morrell. However, such an offer was apparently never made.

Although the hotel closed in 1926, it was not until December 1, 1928 that the furniture and fixtures of "the hotel known as Lockwood House on Fillmore Avenue in Harpers Ferry" were offered for public sale, as announced in the *Farmers Advocate*. In the interim, rooms in the Paymaster's Quarters seem to have continued to be rented out or allocated to Storer College teachers. The *Farmers Advocate* reported on several changes in occupants in the Paymaster's Quarters between 1927 and 1930. In July 1927 James W. Pierce and his family were reported to be living in the Paymaster's Quarters. Two months later, James W. Pierce moved from Lockwood House to Brackett House where he at least briefly ran a grocery business.

No further mention of the building's occupants have been found until a year later when local carpenter Mr. W. P. Engebrecht, his wife Zella Watters Engebrecht, and his father Mr. Engebrecht Sr., moved into an apartment in Lockwood House near the end of September 1928. Zella Engebrecht was the sister of Pansy Cook, who had evidently been a resident of Lockwood House for some time. The Engebrechts evidently did not stay long, as the *Spirit of Jefferson* announced they had moved to Hagerstown in April 1929. According to a notice in the August 22, 1929 edition of the *Spirit of Jefferson*, Pansy Cook was Secretary at Storer College. Ten years earlier Pansy Cook was listed among the teachers enrolled in the Jefferson County Teachers Institute at Charlestown. Although it is not clear if she taught at Storer College at this time, she seems to have done so in the late 1920s. Her name is included on a list of college employees in the Storer College Collection at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park which is dated May 31, 1928. Although the exact length of Cook's residence at the Paymaster's Quarters is unknown, she seems to have remained there at least

through March 1930 when the *Farmers Advocate* reported that Mrs. Pansy Cook was receiving visitors to her home on Fillmore Street.

Beginning in 1930, Mr. and Mrs. William Murphy occupied rooms in the Paymaster's Quarters. The Murphys owned the farm in Bolivar where the John Brown Fort (the former Armory engine house) housed upon its return to Harpers Ferry from the Columbian Exposition in Chicago before it was moved to the Storer College campus in 1910. It is unclear how long they resided in the Paymaster's Quarters. A timeline included in Archie Franzen's architectural report on the Paymaster's Quarters suggests that W.P. Engebrecht returned to the house in 1936 and rented part of the building at least until 1937 in exchange for doing repair work.

In the late 1930s, the plan to convert Brackett, Lockwood, and Morrell houses into dormitories was revived, as President McDonald indicated in a letter to Storer Trustee Grant Hudson on June 9, 1938. In 1940, the Trustees of Storer College formally decided to renovate the building. They hoped to solve the current housing shortage at the college by reconverting the Paymaster's Quarters into a dormitory. At the time of the renovation, the Lockwood House was divided into three apartments, two of which were occupied by teachers, as President McDonald noted in a letter to George B. Fraser on May 16, 1941. The renovation was never completed as planned. Perhaps in an attempt to regain some of the capital that had been effectively wasted in the process, the Executive Committee was authorized in the 1951-52 academic year to consider selling that property.

A deed in the Storer College Papers in the Harpers Ferry National Park collections suggests that Thomas E. Robertson and Mary Brackett Robertson, Nathan and Louise Brackett's daughter, considered purchasing the Paymaster's Quarters. However, a note at the end of the deed signed by Thomas E. Robertson on June 9, 1954 suggested it had been badly damaged by attempted repairs and perhaps its current residents: "In view of the disgraceful and immoral conditions existing in the Lockwood house, we refuse to have our names connected therewith, and hereby cancel the proposed deed of trust so that it cannot be recorded." A revised deed replacing the original named Brackett House as the property preferred by the Robertsons.

At the end of the 1954-55 academic year, Storer College closed. The decision to close Storer College was announced on April 13, 1955 by acting president Rev. L. F. Terrell. At that time, it was hoped that the college might reopen at a later date under a readjusted program. The closing of Storer College seems to have been due to several factors. Following the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in 1954, the West Virginia legislature withdrew its usual appropriation to the college. Although acting president Rev. Leonard E. Terrell had reduced the school's indebtedness from \$50,000 to \$19,000 and almost tripled the enrollment in the three years he was at Storer, the cancellation of state funds was nonetheless a crippling blow to the college.

Storer College grounds and buildings were incorporated into the Harpers Ferry National Monument on July 14, 1960 under Public Law 655. The Paymaster's Quarters underwent exterior restoration which was finished in 1969. Several different plans for exhibits in the building were suggested, but only two rooms were ever completed which were intended to

recreate the kitchen and school room from the early years of the mission school. The kitchen display is still visible through one window on the porch and an audiotape activated by a push-button recounts a brief history of Storer College. The basement of the Paymaster's Quarters has been converted into storage space for the park's artifact collection. Restoration of the rest of the interior has not yet been undertaken, and at present the first two floors are in poor condition.

4. Builder, contractor, supplier: Information is readily available on the contractors and materials used in the Superintendent's House which was planned at the same time as the Paymaster's Quarters. However, the vouchers of the Armory Paymaster are missing for the period July 1, 1847 to December 31, 1947 from the National Archives Record Group 217 files, so it is impossible to accurately recount this information in the case of the Paymaster's Quarters. Most likely, William Collins, the mason who constructed the stone foundations and brick walls of the Superintendent's House, was also responsible for the masonry work on the Paymaster's Quarters. Collins was paid \$26.98 for two days labor in February 21, 1849, at which time he laid 191½ feet of brick cornice on the Paymaster's Quarters. Given that he was called in to do this job, it is likely that he was responsible for the rest of masonry work on the house. William Rowe may have been in charge of the carpentry work for the Paymaster's Quarters, as vouchers have survived which indicate he built the house's east portico and west gallery in 1849.

The final construction costs of approximately \$7,303 was almost \$200 above the original estimates for the Paymaster's Quarters. This disparity resulted largely from the fact that Symington based his original estimates on the cost of laying brick for the shops erected on the river bank in Lower Town. He did not take into account the cost of hauling materials up to Camp Hill. For example, \$1.25 per thousand bricks was added to their overall cost to cover the cost of hauling them, and anywhere from \$1.50 to \$2.00 per thousand bricks for the masonry work to cover the excess cost of carrying sand, lime, and water up the hill (Symington to Talcott, Aug. 11, 1848 and Symington to Secretary of War Marcy Nov. 14, 1846).

5. Original plans and construction: Major Symington submitted plans for the Paymaster's new residence to the Chief of the Ordnance Department, Colonel George Talcott, on May 25, 1847. Although the original plans have not been located, Symington did describe them in his letter:

The building will be erected on the summit of a knoll, the ground falling on all sides, so that its low elevation compared with the extent of the front, will not offend the eye. The floors of the lowermost rooms will be 3 1/2 feet about below the surface of the ground, which at this place is the outcropping of slate rock and very dry. These rooms consequently will be found to be dry at all times. (Reel 23, vol. 9, p. 822).

Symington noted that a skylight was included in the plans to light the dining room, although it is not known if a skylight was actually constructed. The former residence of John Hall was cleared from the site for the construction of the Paymaster's Quarters presumably after the Ordnance Department authorization on April 22, 1847 (Reel 19, vol. 3, pp. 289-90). Col. Talcott approved the plans on May 28, 1847, directing Symington to proceed with

construction (Reel 19, vol. 3, p. 302).

In his annual report for fiscal year ending June 30, 1848, Symington reported that construction of the new Paymaster's Quarters would be completed before the end of September. This report also included a description of the new building:

The dwelling house is 56 $\frac{4}{12}$ by 39 $\frac{9}{12}$ [feet], one story of brick upon a high basement story of stone. Cut stone water table, copper gutter and spouting and roofed with sheet tin. An outbuilding 18 by 20 feet of brick, one story covered with shingles – and also a rain water cistern capable of holding 12,000 gallons together with the necessary drains, conductors, &c, have been made in connexion with this building" (Symington to Secretary of War Marcy, Nov. 14, 1846; Reel 20, vol. 1, p. 36; *Serial No. 537*, Document No. 1, pp. 348-49).

The full one-story-high stone, or English, basement had four rooms, as did the floor above. Both stories were mostly likely constructed on center-hall, double-pile plan as they were depicted in a rough drawing of the first floor plan in Lieut. A. F. Higgs's inspection report of the Paymaster's Quarters which was drafted on April 23, 1867. Archie Franzen's report suggests that the extant ends beams and lower chords of trusses from the original roof suggest that it was a modified hip roof which could have included a skylight.

A wood- and coal-storage building, privies, and a cistern with the capacity of storing 12,000 gallons of water were also constructed on the grounds of the Paymaster's Quarters in 1848 (Symington to Talcott, Aug. 11, 1848; Reel 23, vol. 10, pp. 978-85). Symington insisted that the additional \$170 spent on the cistern was an absolute necessity given the difficulty of transporting water from its source in Lower Town to the top of Camp Hill. In 1849, a portico at the east entrance and gallery along the west facade were added to the Paymaster's Quarters.

6. Alterations and additions: In 1858, several alterations were made to the Paymaster's Quarters, largely in response to the problem of dampness in the basement. On June 3, 1858, Superintendent Henry W. Clowe submitted plans and estimates for the second story he proposed to add to the Paymaster's Quarters. Although no plans have survived, the full list of materials and estimated costs submitted by Clowe is included here under "Supplemental Material." The following day Col. Henry K. Craig of the Ordnance Department forwarded a request to the Secretary of War J. B. Floyd requesting authorization for the addition. Col. Craig noted that "At present the House consists of a Basement partly under ground and one story above for family use— The kitchen and Servants Room being in the Basement which is damp and unhealthy; it is therefore proposed to construct an upper story to the building and excavate an area around the Basement to make that portion more habitable." On July 22, 1858 Col. Craig granted Clowe permission to proceed with the construction of the proposed addition (Reel 19, vol. 10, p. 980). By the end of September, Clowe reported that work on the Paymaster's Quarters was progressing rapidly and that the paymaster was anxious to move back in that autumn (Clowe to Craig, Sept. 27, 1857; Photostats, vol. 3, p. 75).

The addition consisted of an areaway around two sides of the building and five rooms in a second story. The stone foundation walls on the south and east facades were fully excavated to provide better ventilation of the basement. The ground around the house may also have

been graded at this time as about fifteen inches of rough stone foundation wall is exposed on all sides. The original roof was removed and an additional floor added above the existing structure and connected to the lower floor with a new staircase. A hipped roof covered with slate surmounted the addition. A new portico had to be constructed at the east entrance to accommodate the areaway along that facade. Finally, a two-story gallery was constructed along the west facade which seems to have included a board and batten pantry at the north end. By June 30, 1859, Clowe could report that "the paymaster's quarters have been materially enlarged and improved by an addition of one story to the height, and galleries and porticos on the east and west sides, and the interior arrangement entirely altered, finished, and thoroughly occupied by the paymaster" (*Serial No. 1025*, p. 1114).

During the Civil War the Paymaster's Quarters suffered considerable damage to both interior and exterior. The roof, second-story windows, and northwest room on the first floor were badly damaged by shelling and canon fire, while the mantels and staircases were torn down and the interior woodwork mistreated. The large trees which had formerly surrounded the house were also chopped down by troops, as demonstrated by comparing existing photographs of Camp Hill taken in 1861 and 1866 (HF-47 and HF-78). While the Medical Purveyor had offices in the Paymaster's Quarters, attempts were made to repair some of the worst damage and to at least make the building waterproof. Supplies were ordered on September 16, 1864 to repair windows, doors, interior staircases, and the rail around the cistern. A series of shelves were also installed on the walls around the perimeter of the largest room on the first floor.

When the Paymaster's Quarters began to be used for the missionary school organized by Nathan Brackett in the fall of 1865, the second story was virtually uninhabitable and extensive damage remained throughout the rest of the structure. In April 1867, Lieutenant A. F. Higgs was sent by the Superintendent of Freedmen's Schools for Jefferson and Berkeley Counties to inspect the Paymaster's Quarters. Higgs reported that extensive repairs were still needed: "The house is in bad order, and it will take nearly a thousand dollars to put it in *good repair*" (Inspection Report, Harpers Ferry, April 23, 1867, Vol. 2, No. 1815A A.C.D.G. 1867). With his report, Higgs included a rough floor plan of the existing Paymaster's Quarters which indicates that at this time the two-story west gallery was still standing as was a small east porch. According to Kate Anthony's account, in the summer of 1867, the Freedman's Bureau gave the school \$500 to repair further damage from a fire which had occurred just prior to the school's projected opening that fall. By that time enough work had been done on the second floor to make those rooms functional. The Freedman's Bureau later donated an additional \$4000 to renovate the "shattered government buildings," presumably after Congress had transferred the four Armory residences on Camp Hill to Storer College in 1868.

In the late 1870s, the Trustees of Storer College appropriated funds for an addition to the Paymaster's Quarters. In December 1877, the Trustees authorized the Treasurer to take \$1200 from the funds raised for a girls' dormitory and repair the Paymaster's Quarters for use as an interim dormitory and for summer boarders. As Nathan Brackett noted on March 14, 1878 in a letter to Mrs. Mosher, the editor of the Freewill Baptist Sunday School paper *The Myrtle* which sponsored a fund drive for the construction of the girls' dormitory: "We propose to have \$1200 to put a mansard roof on that house making 10 additional rooms. Use it for a boarding house in summer. Hope to make it earn \$150 or so to pay interest and

repairs and then fill it with girls in winter till we get money enough to build the new hall." Two weeks later, he reported to Mrs. Mosher that the Trustees had unanimously voted to repair the Paymaster's Quarters at a cost of \$1000 or \$1200. Once again in December 1879, the Trustees authorized the Treasurer to allocate funds to repair and enlarge the building "for its preservation, the accommodation of Summer boarders, for the benefit of the Institution in providing more rooms for its students & increasing its incomes."

By 1883 the Mansard roof was completed. The roof was covered with slate and featured an exterior captain's walk at the ridge line which could be accessed by a ship's ladder was completed. The addition comprised eight rooms on the third floor and an attic divided into two rooms. On the third floor, a long, narrow corridor ran between the north and south ends of the building with four rooms opening off of it on either side. The attic story was constructed on a single-pile, center-hall plan with a short corridor oriented east-west like the central halls on the first and second floors. This arrangement was thought to be better adapted to the use of students (and perhaps boarders) than the larger rooms in the floor below, according to the *Biennial Catalogue of Storer College* from 1882-84. Four small dormer windows in the attic and fourteen taller dormers on the third-floor level provided light in the new upper stories.

It may have been around this time or a few years later that the west porch was lowered to a single story. The Sanborn Ferris map of Harpers Ferry from November 1894 shows two one-story buildings attached to the Paymaster's Quarters by a passage on the south side of the house. These buildings seem to have been used as the hotel's kitchen as the basement housed the dining room in the summer. The porch may have also been extended to the north facade around this time. A single layer of rough cast stone was placed over the dressed stone top step of the entrance to the cellar, rendering the entrance unusable, but also providing a foundation for the new porch. In April 1895, the *Harpers Ferry Sentinel* suggested that the Lovetts had "made big improvements in the building and therefore it is a desirable place during the summer months," but did not indicate what these improvements entailed. Electricity was installed in the Paymaster's Quarters in 1899, according to the minutes of the Executive Board of Storer College (vol. 11, p. 200).

According to the time line included in Archie Franzen's report on the Paymaster's Quarters, W. P. Engebret rented part of the building in 1936-37 in exchange for doing repairs. The work he completed on the building apparently included papering and painting eight rooms in addition to repairing the porches, window sash, and doors. The source of this information, however, was not cited.

As reported in the *Catalogue* published in 1940, the Trustees decided to renovate the Paymaster's Quarters to provide desperately needed space for the college's rapidly increasing enrollment. This renovation seems to have focused on the first and second floors, particularly on the provision of closets and bathrooms to these floors. It was probably during this renovation that a cement floor was poured in the smallest room on the second floor. New plumbing was also installed in this room to convert it into a bathroom. A new heating systems seem to have also been installed at this time. On May 7, 1943, the Board of Trustees recommended that the porches of the Paymaster's Quarters be repaired. According to local inhabitants interviewed by William Hersey for his archeological survey of the Paymaster's

Quarters, the east porch was removed around 1948 because it had almost completely decayed. This was not the portico built in 1858, but porch with a concrete stoop which must have been constructed ca. 1928, the date of a license embedded in the corner of the stoop.

Franzen's time line also mentioned an agreement between Storer College and Garfield Dennis for plastering walls and ceilings at the Paymaster's Quarters. Although, once again, the source of this information is not mentioned, the carpenter's report for this work listed the work which had been completed: "flashings to roof and chimneys, fixed slate, new snow boards, painting of outside woodwork, new ballisters on stairway, new windows, new ropes on windows, new porch floor, new rail, repairs to bathrooms, heating plant, electrical work, tearing out old plaster." Although this document suggests that the proposed renovation of the Paymaster's Quarters had met with some success, the letters of former President McDonald suggest otherwise.

As late as December 1948, Storer College Trustee Harry S. Meyers noted in a letter to former President McDonald that "some more money will have to be spent to take care of some beginnings already made like furnishing Lockwood House." McDonald responded to Meyer's remarks in no uncertain terms: "You speak of Lockwood House. That has been a nightmare. What do you want to make it over into a dormitory for — and of course, that will be done — has puzzled me. The work still goes on, as I observe, from time to time, with frequent interruptions and little apparent supervision." In March 1949 McDonald remarked in a letter to Meyers that the room furnishings in the Paymaster's Quarters had been removed and brought back to the College. Thus the attempted 1940s renovation of the Paymaster's Quarters was largely a disaster which did not solve the problem of additional dormitory space. Instead, it appears to have contributed to the financial burdens and growing debt of the college in the late 1940s.

After acquiring the former Storer College properties in 1960, the National Park Service began two years later to plan an extensive restoration program for the Paymaster's Quarters. By October 1965, working drawings and specifications for the removal of the Mansard roof and reconstruction of the building's exterior to its 1858 appearance were complete. The Mansard roof was removed and a new slate hipped roof constructed over the existing second story. Exterior restoration was also undertaken, including repointing the brickwork, reconstructing the areaways and cellar entrance on the north facade, and the construction of a two-story porch according to how it appeared in J. E. Taylor's drawing of "General Sheridan's Headquarters at Harpers Ferry" published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* on September 3, 1864 (HF-341). The restored house was dedicated in a public ceremony with Senator Jennings Randolph as the featured speaker on May 30, 1969.

B. Historical Context:

1. Symington's Architectural Plan for Harpers Ferry:

The Paymaster's Quarters was originally designed in the mid-1840s by the Superintendent of the Armory, Major John Symington. At the same time, Symington had also drafted plans for his own residence. Both houses were to be built on the summit of Camp Hill and featured similar architectural details and proportions. In spite of these similarities, the hierarchy of the

Armory's chain of command was expressed in the architecture of these two buildings. The larger size of the Superintendent's House clearly articulated the administrative structure of the Armory with the superintendent at its helm. Although both residences were constructed at a substantial remove from the shops of the Musket and Rifle factories, they were nonetheless a crucial element of Symington's architectural and administrative reforms at the Armory and Arsenal in Harpers Ferry during the mid-nineteenth century.

Even before the first superintendent, Joseph Perkin, was appointed to his post on August 6, 1798, the architect Henry Latrobe had written to Thomas Jefferson to express his interest in designing the new armory in Harpers Ferry. According to a letter Perkins sent to the Secretary of War ca. 1800, which was mentioned in Joseph Noffsinger's report on the physical history of Harpers Ferry, Latrobe had actually furnished a plan for the Armory. Latrobe's plan was never implemented, and no documentation of his proposed design has been recovered. Instead, John Mackey, the first paymaster and storekeeper in Harpers Ferry, was in charge of designing and building the earliest armory structures. According to former Park Historian Charles Snell, who traced the development of the Armory in his lengthy report on its physical plant, construction of armory buildings probably began on May 6, 1799. Mackey was replaced by Samuel Annin in April of the following year. At that time, Secretary of War James McHenry stated that the paymaster was responsible, in cooperation with the superintendent, for the construction of "buildings, Dams and other businesses."

By 1807, the operating plant of the Armory consisted of six brick buildings. Residences for the Superintendent, Paymaster, Master Armorer, and a few mechanics had also been constructed. Seven additional brick workshops were erected the following year under the direction of Superintendent James Stubblefield and Paymaster Annin. However, beginning in 1816, the design and construction of new structures at the Armory officially became the duty of the superintendent. Despite several changes in the Armory's officers over the first few decades of its development, the only building which seems to have distinguished itself somewhat in terms of its architecture was the Large Arsenal. Mackey had presumably designed this building since its construction began in 1799. In contrast to many subsequent shops and warehouses at the Armory, it featured a central pavilion and pointed arch windows.

In 1827 the U.S. Inspector General John E. Wool drafted a report detailing his inspection of the Armory. Wool observed that the quality of the arms produced in Harpers Ferry was equal to those produced in Springfield, but he insisted that the physical establishment was blatantly inferior. Although the buildings had been constructed of brick, they were deteriorating and "surrounded by small buildings not fit for habitation." Wool was, however, cautious in formulating his recommendations:

To pull down the buildings, which are a disgrace to the establishment and improperly located, and to erect those of a permanent character for the habitation of workmen, and to make such other improvements as are necessary to place the establishment on a proper and respectable footing, would probably cost forty or fifty thousand dollars, which sum might have been saved if due regard had been paid originally to the location and construction of the buildings.

Wool insisted that all of the Armory structures looked as though they had been constructed as temporary structures, but he did not go so far as to recommend their complete replacement.

Such drastic measures would have required substantial additional investment on the part of the federal government which was not forthcoming.

In spite of efforts to improve and expand the Armory's facilities in the 1830s, including the expansion of the Potomac Canal and the installation of slate roofs on all Armory shops, complaints about their appearance and utility persisted. In his estimate of appropriations for the following year which was compiled on November 16, 1838, Colonel George Bomford, Chief of the Ordnance Department, asserted, "The strongest necessity exists for the improvement of the public buildings at Harpers Ferry Armory - they are at present exceedingly unsightly and unworthy of a National Establishment, and many of them, being mere wooden sheds, are besides liable to fire."

The criticisms to which the public works at Harpers Ferry were consistently subjected stand in stark contrast to contemporary assessments of the other federal armory which was located in Springfield, Massachusetts. The Springfield Armory had been the first to be established after the Congressional act for the creation of federal armories had been signed by President George Washington on April 2, 1794. Prior to this, a small federal depot had been constructed in Springfield, consisting largely of perhaps a dozen frame workshops, according to industrial historian Michael S. Raber. Even at this early date, the spatial arrangement of the area which would become Armory Square had been established: manufacturies on east and northeast sides, storage and arsenal facilities on the south side, and officers quarters on the north and northwest sides. After 1808, all new armory structures in Springfield were built of fire-resistant materials, primarily stone and brick. During the tenure of Superintendent Roswell Lee from June 1815 to August 1833, virtually the entire plant which comprised both hill and water shops, was rebuilt. In the process, a much more consistent architectural style was established among the armory buildings in Springfield than existed in Harpers Ferry.

Although in 1830 Master Armorer Benjamin Moor instituted investigations of the Springfield installation as well as other manufacturing towns in New England, Merritt Roe Smith claimed that cooperation and exchange between Springfield and Harpers Ferry was not really visible until at least the late 1830s. Although the layout of the Springfield Armory was influenced by its topography as in Harpers Ferry, more attention seemed to have been paid from a relatively early date to unifying the plant through its architecture and arranging its main structures according to a more ordered and axial scheme. Architectural details, such as the massive, square clock tower on the Main Arsenal Building which was under construction in 1846, helped to further establish a visible, structural hierarchy among the armory buildings. By contrast, as late as June 18, 1846, Captain William Maynardier complained about the lack of an overall scheme by which the Harpers Ferry Armory was organized: "this whole establishment is cramped for room, not having been constructed upon a plan arranged beforehand, but put up building after building as appropriations were obtained" (Capt. W. Maynardier to W.L. Marcy, Ordnance Office, June 18, 1846, R.G. 156).

On November 9, 1844, Symington assumed the position of superintendent at the Armory in Harpers Ferry and proceeded to draw up plan for its complete renovation (Symington to Talcott, Nov. 9, 1844, R.G. 156). The fact that Symington had spent a short amount of time in Harpers Ferry over a decade before his appointment meant that he was already somewhat familiar with the establishment. In August 1829 Symington had briefly served as the acting

superintendent in Harpers Ferry after Superintendent Stubblefield resigned from the Armory in August 1829. A little over a month after he returned to Harpers Ferry, Symington submitted five detailed plans for rebuilding the entire Armory complex and recommended that a program be developed to allow armory workers to purchase land (*Serial No. 464*, Document No. 43, pp. 13-17). Secretary of War William L. Marcy authorized Symington to begin implementing the project in March 1845 (Symington to C.M. Conrad, May 21, 1851). It was not, however, until the following year on August 8 that Congress appropriated the necessary funds for repairs and improvements, a total of \$128,361. As they had done previously in 1799 and 1808-10, Congress only authorized money for improvements to the Armory in Harpers Ferry that year because the threat of war had become tangible. Less than three months earlier, the United States had declared war on Mexico.

Unlike most other superintendents at the Armory in Harpers Ferry, Major John Symington had been formally trained as an engineer at West Point. Little else is known about Symington's background or previous engineering and architectural projects. However, as Charles Snell has observed, Symington demonstrated remarkable talent as a builder, architect, and town planner. In all of his projects at Harpers Ferry, Symington appears to have been fortunate enough to be assisted by a team of competent craftspeople. During Symington's tenure, Jeremiah Fuss was the master builder and master carpenter at the Armory. It is most likely to Fuss and his crew that the well-crafted woodwork and trim on the first floor of the Paymaster's Quarters is due. In return, Fuss received a rent-free dwelling on Camp Hill in return for his services to the Armory.

Symington was concerned first of all with the deteriorating condition and poor organization of the arms factories in Harpers Ferry. Over the course of his superintendency he was responsible for the construction of eleven new workshops and storehouses. According to Merritt Roe Smith's account of the Armory at Harpers Ferry, the erection of new workshops was part of a broader program to create a more integrated and functional physical complex. Previously new structures had often been erected with little thought for the relation of the particular manufacturing processes they housed to the surrounding structures. Modern and improved machinery was also installed at this time. In addition, all buildings designed by Symington shared a consistent architectural style which the superintendent had codified as part of his overall plan (Symington to Talcott, Mar. 30, 1850, R.G. 156). All new Armory structures were constructed of brick walls with cut-stone water tables which rested on heavy stone foundations. The exterior brick facades of the main workshops were all painted with "two coats of patent paint, in oil" by June 1851, according to Symington's annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1851 (*Serial No. 611*, Doc. 1, p. 459). Roofs were covered either with slate or sheet metal and featured copper gutters and downspouts.

The eight main workshop buildings that Symington erected shared uniform interior plans, exterior proportions, and architectural details, as described by Charles Snell. All workshops featured a rectangular center building flanked by two wings. Although each of these three sections was covered with a gable roof, the roof of the central structure was set at right angles to those of the two wings. The end gable walls of the two wings had crenelated brick parapet walls which projected above the gable ridge. The front and rear facades of the workshops were divided into regular bays separated by large projecting brick pilasters. Rounded windows which were recessed within the arcaded bays wrapped around the first floor facades,

while the second floor featured rectangular bays with brick jack arches. The window and door openings generally had cast iron sills and frames. In contrast to earlier structures erected at the Armory except perhaps for the few designed by his direct predecessor Henry K. Craig Symington insisted on using superior materials and workmanship in all new Armory buildings.

Symington was clearly influenced by the architecture of the Springfield Armory. His basic design for workshops in Harpers Ferry particularly recalls the Middle Arsenal which was erected in 1830 in Springfield. According to Michael Raber, the Middle Arsenal was the first three-story structure built at the Springfield plant. This brick building featured a projecting pedimented central section which divided the long, rectangular block into proportions similar to those favored by Symington. The Main Arsenal which was constructed in 1846-50 is perhaps closest to the architectural prototype developed in Harpers Ferry. Comprising a rectangular central structure flanked by two wings, the Main Arsenal featured the same roof arrangement which historian Charles Snell has described for Symington's workshop buildings. Although the fenestration pattern of the Main Arsenal is not identical to that used in Harpers Ferry, it was similarly divided into repeating bays by projecting brick pilasters.

Symington's plan for Harpers Ferry was not limited to the erection of new buildings and the creation of a consistent architectural style. This new architectural harmony was further enhanced by a landscaping program which focused on the Musket Factory along the Potomac River. The entire complex was surrounded with a fence which had a formal entrance along Potomac Street framed by wrought-iron gates. Armory canals and waterworks were enlarged to handle additional and improved machinery installed in the workshops. To further protect the Armory against the threat of fire, water hydrants and other fire-fighting equipment was installed between the Musket Factories and the buildings on Arsenal Square in a new engine house. Sanitation systems were also improved with the construction of drainage ditches while numerous cisterns were created to assure a ready supply of water.

Although most improvements focused on the manufacturing and storehouse complex, Symington expanded his plan to include the entire town of Harpers Ferry. In fact, Symington's plan for the Armory was particularly significant precisely because he considered the Armory to comprise the entire town of Harpers Ferry. When he constructed a municipal market house on the south side of Shenandoah Street just west of Arsenal Square, Symington used the same materials and fenestration patterns as the workshops. Thus, the architectural unity Symington introduced to the Armory buildings was extended to the larger town. When the construction of the market hall was begun in June 1846, it was the first of many civic improvements Symington made during his tenure. On the floor above the ground-level public market, a lodge room was created for the Sons of Temperance. Although it was not officially affiliated with the Armory, this organization had been founded by Symington in an attempt to encourage sobriety among armory workers.

In effect, the municipal structures Symington erected served to further cement the Armory's dominant position within the broader community of Harpers Ferry. After Harpers Ferry was incorporated as a town in March 1851, Symington donated the former Superintendent's office in Arsenal yard to be the Town Hall. In May 1851, Jeremiah Fuss was elected the town's first mayor. The new town government thus made clear, as Symington's plan had suggested,

the Armory and the town of Harpers Ferry were synonymous.

Symington's plan also focused on two additional concerns: solving the age-old problem of housing for armory workers and laying out a street plan for Harpers Ferry. In 1851, Symington proposed to sell government properties both in Lower Town and on Camp Hill which were no longer needed for Armory use. He commissioned S. Howell Brown to prepare a plat map which divided these areas into blocks and lots; designated properties were then sold in 1852, with first preference given to armory workers who were currently occupying dwellings on these lots. The map Brown produced was the first comprehensive street plan of the town. At the same time that Symington prepared to reduce the amount of public land in Harpers Ferry with the sale of government lots, he attempted to further integrate remaining Armory structures with the overall structure of the town. The network of roads formalized by Symington provided easier access to Camp Hill, so that the upper and lower areas of town were more fully connected and integrated with one another. However, the topography of the town prevented the imposition of a consistent grid except in certain sections such as the blocks flanking Fillmore Street where the Superintendent's and Paymaster's houses were located. The street pattern that Symington established continues even today to form the base of Harpers Ferry's transportation network.

The residences for the paymaster and superintendent which Major Symington erected on Camp Hill were another important element in his overall plan for Harpers Ferry. Symington was not the first superintendent to consider erecting officers' residences at a higher elevation. According to Charles Snell, Superintendent James Stubblefield had near the beginning of his tenure expressed an interest in building his dwelling on Camp Hill. However, the brick residence which he erected for himself in 1808-09 was located near the Musket Factory shops. In November 1844, George Talcott, the Chief of Ordnance, proposed that all new Armory buildings be erected "at a suitable elevation" in order to avoid damage from flooding (*Congressional Serial No. 464*, Document No. 43, p. 2). It was perhaps with this recommendation in mind that Symington suggested his early proposals for improvements to the Armory that new dwellings for officers and inspectors be erected on High Street so that they "could have the Armory buildings always under view" (Symington to Talcott, December 14, 1844, Reel 23, vol. 3, p. 263). However, when Symington submitted his estimates for the proposed residences for the superintendent and the paymaster for fiscal year 1846-47, he no longer thought it appropriate to erect these two houses in Lower Town. Instead, they were to be constructed on two large lots on the top of Camp Hill.

The removal of Armory officers' residences to Camp Hill was an important symbolic statement. The hierarchy of the Armory, and by extension the town, was thereby literally inscribed into the very landscape of the town, with the highest ranking officials at the summit. As an article in the *Virginia Free Press* on July 15, 1847 observed, Symington's "mansion" commanded a view over the entire public works. The new residences of the superintendent and paymaster provided a vantage point from which the Armory and town below could be both admired and surveyed. As few other structures on Camp Hill at this time had been constructed of brick, the size and materials of these two residences also set them apart from all neighboring structures. Certainly no neighboring dwellings featured architectural details like the porticos, pedimented door and window frames, and dressed stone foundations which were included in the paymaster's and superintendent's residences. Although they were

erected at a considerable distance from the main Armory complex, these two houses nonetheless echoed the architectural style of the workshops at the bottom of the hill. The brick exterior walls with cut-stone water tables and heavy stone foundations used in the Superintendent's and Paymaster's houses visually suggested their institutional connection to the main Armory workshops which Symington had also designed.

Symington's decision to locate residences for Armory officials on Camp Hill was most likely motivated by several factors, including the unhygienic and unsanitary conditions, the threat of flooding and lack of available land in the Lower Town area. However, it is also worth noting that the Springfield Armory was similarly divided into two separate areas: the Water Shops along Mill River and the Hill Shops on a plateau above. Although the relationship between these two areas was quite different than that which Symington developed between Lower Town and Camp Hill, the similarity in arrangement is striking. Whereas in Harpers Ferry the armory developed first along the Potomac River and later spread to higher elevations, the Springfield Armory first began on the hill, but soon thereafter established shops along the river below. In spite of these differences, a similar relationship existed in Springfield between the major workshops and the residences of Armory officers: all of the officers' dwellings were located on top of the hill, hovering above the main workshop buildings erected along the banks of the river.

In his history of West Virginia, John A. Williams has suggested that the design that Symington developed for Harpers Ferry is remarkably similar to numerous West Virginian coal towns. As with the Paymaster's Quarters, spacious houses for the mine owners and managers were often prominently located on the hilltop: "Beneath the manicured ruin that tourists visit today lie the bones of an industrial community that might easily have served as a model for the numerous railroad towns and coal camps that later spread across West Virginia." Additional research would be necessary to trace the relationship between the plan of Harpers Ferry Symington designed and that of other industrial towns. However, the Armory at Harpers Ferry does correspond to the general pattern established in early industrial towns of New England such as Lowell where a measured distance has been created between the factory buildings and the prominent mansions of factory administrators and owners.

2. Founding and Early Years of Storer College

As Anna Coxe Toogood noted in her historical study of the Paymaster's Quarters, the American Baptist Historical Society claimed that there were around 30,000 African-Americans living in the Shenandoah Valley in 1865. Between the destruction of the Armory and the subsequent damage inflicted on the town over the course of the Civil War, many residents had fled from Harpers Ferry. Even after the Civil War ended, the economic base of the town, the Armory, could not be restored. As one contemporary observer, Josephus, Jr., observed in 1869, "...great poverty has prevailed here since the War. The only source of revenue the people had, was destroyed, and the direct distress has ever since been experienced." At the same time, the town became a gathering place for former slaves, some of whom had followed Union soldiers into the area. Although the Emancipation Proclamation had given African-Americans their freedom, the war had effectively transformed many freed slaves into refugees.

In perhaps as early as the winter of 1864, the Paymaster's Quarters was transformed into a makeshift mission school in an attempt to make drastically needed basic education available to this large population "refugee slaves" in Harpers Ferry. It is generally thought that Julia Mann, the neice of educator Horace Mann, ran a school here in the winter of 1864, but further evidence is needed to support this legend.

The Shenandoah Mission, which can be considered the forerunner of Storer College, was organized in 1865 by the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Society in conjunction with the American Missionary Association and the Freedmen's Bureau. Nathan C. Brackett was asked to head the Shenandoah Mission, and a week after he was married to Louise Wood on October 16, 1865, he left for Harpers Ferry. At the end of the Civil War, the Freedman's Bureau had been granted the use of the former Paymaster's Quarters by the Ordnance Department. When Brackett arrived in the Shenandoah Valley, the Bureau allowed him to use the building as a school and living quarters for mission teachers. By November 10, 1865, Silas Curtis, the Chair of the Home Mission Society, had suggested to Nathan Brackett that Harpers Ferry remain the headquarters of the Shenandoah Mission:

I am much pleased with the seccess you meet with at Harpers Ferry in obtaining rooms, etc.[...] Wherever we make a stand there, I want, if possible, we should keep it, I think with you that probably we had better have our mission house and headquarters for the district at H. Ferry.

The Ordnance Department refused to authorize the permanent trandsfer of the Paymaster's Quarters to the Freedman's Bureau in a letter from Daniel J. Young, the local agent in Harpers Ferry dated March 15, 1866. However, the Bureau was permitted to use the building until the Ordnance Department might have further need of it.

While Harpers Ferry continued to serve as the Mission's headquarters throughout its first two years, schools were also established in towns throughout the Shenandoah Valley. According to Mary Brackett Robinson's Founder's Day Speech, "Traditions and Memories," which she delivered on February 26, 1867, "by Christmas schools were started in Charles Town, Shepherdstown, Martinsburg and Harper's Ferry, and in 1866 they were started at Winchester, Front Royal, Woodstock, Harrisonburg, Staunton and Lexington."

In the first few years of the Shenandoah Mission, many young teachers traveled to Jefferson County from New England to assist with the effort to establish free schools for African-Americans. The vast majority of the teachers who participated in the Shenandoah Mission were young women. As Mary Clemmer Ames remarked in her article "Yankee Teachers in the Valley of Virginia," which was published in *The Independent* on Jan. 3, 1867, these teachers endured an often hostile reception from white residents and were forced to cobble together makeshift schools under extremely modest conditions:

The Volunteer Teachers of 1865-68 were of heroic mold.... The trials and dangers of those days, the difficulties in getting rooms for the schools and homes for the teachers, the menances, the contemptuous glances and sometimes insulting remarks that were met upon the streets, are not pleasant to recall.

The recently published diary and letters of Sarah Jane Foster, one of the original teachers sent on the Shenandoah Mission who was first responsible for establishing a school in Martinsburg, support Ames's observations. However, Foster also makes clear that in spite of the difficulties she encountered, her experience as a missionary teacher also afforded her a degree of autonomy which was not available to all of her female peers who often did not have equivalent opportunities to travel outside of the home. Foster also found a community among her students of which she became extremely fond, even though she always remained somewhat outside of it.

Conflicts between the teachers and students of these newly formed schools resulted in part from the economic devastation which the war had wreaked on Harpers Ferry. Although in 1866, the Bvt. Gen. Horaces Seide, the Inspector of Freedmen's schools reported that the black population in Harpers Ferry had dropped significantly that year and that "prejudice against colored people is fast dying out, and hopes are entertained that during the winter they may be recognized, and to some extent supported, in the same mass as 'free white schools.'" That same year, Sarah Jane Foster's observations were not nearly as optimistic. On May 2, 1866, she wrote,

How Harpers Ferry is going to live this summer is more than I can see. The Government works are all idle here. Times are hard for white people as well as colored around here now. Very many garments have been distributed among the white people here, and many apply for rations. The aristocracy above them has had nearly the same effect of degradation that it has upon the colored people, and the two classes are at swords points.

Hard times had descended upon both blacks and whites in the area. The local white population was often angered when it saw aid being distributed to former slaves by the local office of the Freedmen's Bureau while no such service was available to them. This comparison did not, of course, take into account the fact that free schools already existed for white children.

Soon after the Shenandoah Mission was initiated, the Freewill Baptist Home Mission Board tried to address the problem of training African-American teachers to staff the new schools. Storer Normal School was to be developed in response to this concern. In February 1867, Oren B. Cheney, the President of Bates College which had recently been developed out of the Maine State Seminary, secured the promise of \$10,000 from John Storer for the establishment of just such a school. However, Storer stipulated that his donation would only be transferred to Cheney if matching funds totaling \$10,000 could be raised. To this end, Cheney drew up a legal document which guided the ensuing fund-raising. A third party was to hold the \$10,000 donated by Storer until the matching funds were secured. By April 17, Cheney was busy negotiating with Senators Stanton and Fessenden in the hopes of securing the transfer of at least two former Armory officers' residences in Harpers Ferry for the proposed school as indicated in a letter he sent to Nathan Brackett on that date. As Cheney noted in his diary, he also met with Secretary of War Stanton on April 20 to discuss this proposal.

General O. Howard, the Director of the Freedman's Bureau in Washington, D.C. was also instrumental in the college's establishment. As Nathan C. Brackett recalled in his article on Oren B. Cheney published on December 29, 1903 which is included in the Harpers Ferry

National Historical Park collections, in June 1867, when Cheney described the proposed venture, Howard agreed to donate \$6000 from the Freedman's Bureau towards the terms of the agreement with John Storer. According to Kate Anthony's historical sketch of Harpers Ferry published in 1891, the Freedman's Bureau had previously allocated \$500 to be used for much-needed repairs to the Paymaster's Quarters. Anthony further claimed that over the years a total of over \$18,000 was granted to Storer College by the Freedman's Bureau to fund its establishment, maintenance, and expansion. Throughout its early years, Storer College relied heavily on donations from Freewill Baptists who were largely concentrated in New England. According to Louise W. Brackett, as free schools were established in the Shenandoah Valley and their administration placed under the county system, funds from the Freewill Baptists were gradually concentrated on the development of Storer College.

According to the document in the Storer College Data in the collection of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Storer College was incorporated on September 25, 1867. The signatories outlined the basic guidelines for the college's establishment in this document:

We, the undersigned, having agreed to unite and become a Corporation with joint stock capital, to be known as the Storer College, in Western Virginia for the education of pupils of both sexes, and without respect to color, do also agree to pay the sums set against our respective names for the above purposes.

However, the college may not have been officially incorporated until October 14, 1867, as indicated in the petition for the transfer of two government buildings which submitted that year by the college stockholders to Congress. In any case, Storer Normal School classes commenced in October 1867 in the Paymaster's Quarters. According to Kate Anthony, nineteen students attended the school that fall.

John Storer died on October 24, 1867. On January 1, 1868, the Trustees of Storer College received a telegram from William Fessenden, the legal agent for Storer's estate, informing them that they had twelve hours to show proof that all \$10,000 of their promised matching funds had been invested. If such confirmation was not forthcoming, they would legally forfeit Storer's donation. Between \$2,000 and \$3,000 was frantically collected from the pockets of the few available trustees and invested that day forestall this crisis. Thereafter, this incident was known in the Storer College community and its supporters as "Black Wednesday."

The trustees of the proposed college submitted their application for a state charter as soon as the West Virginia Legislature reconvened in January 1868. In spite of fervent opposition to the school by many legislators and local citizens, Storer College was granted a charter by the State of West Virginia on March 3, 1868. According to the charter, the original Trustees of Storer College included Oren B. Cheney, Silas Curtis, Nathan C. Brackett, Alexander H. Morrell, and Daniel J. Young. An attempt was made to revoke the charter in the next session of the state legislature, but his measure was never approved. However, the charter was subsequently amended according to the wishes of the Trustees on February 3, 1883 and in February 1909.

According to Louise W. Brackett's speech, "Storer College: A Chapter of History," the Home Mission Society had originally been proposed to establish the headquarters of the

Shenandoah Mission in Winchester. However, even before Congress granted the former Armory building on Camp Hill to the college, Harpers Ferry had been chosen as the site for Storer College. While waiting for Congress to make a final decision about the proposed transfer of properties, Oren Cheney urged Nathan Brackett to purchase the Smallwood Farm on Bolivar Heights in a letter dated April 29, 1867.¹ During an earlier visit to Harpers Ferry, Cheney had placed a deposit on this property so that the college would be assured of an adequate site even if they were unable to acquire the government buildings on Camp Hill. Although, the Smallwood Farm "largely assisted in supporting the school during its infancy." The property was divided into lots which were gradually sold. Anthony noted that proceeds from the sale of land provided the college with more than double its original investment of \$7600. The Smallwood Farm thus proved a useful source of additional income during the early years of Storer College.

Harpers Ferry became the headquarters for the Shenandoah Mission in large part because the Freedman's Bureau had access to the former Paymaster's Quarters and was willing to make it available to the Freewill Baptist missionary teachers. The town was subsequently chosen as the location for Storer College in large part because the Freedman's Bureau had already facilitated the use of the Paymaster's Quarters for the mission school and headquarters. The possibility of receiving this house and adjacent properties was also a crucial factor in determining the site for the proposed college. Louise Brackett recalled this situation in her essay, "A Chapter in History":

But poor as [the Paymaster's Quarters] was, it had been the chief factor in deciding on this place for headquarters instead of Winchester as planned; for among all the difficulties foreseen and unforeseen which beset the work at that time none were greater than that of securing homes for the teachers.

The natural beauty of the setting was also appealing to the founders and was subsequently invoked to promote the college. Even before it was officially established, Oren Cheney stressed the potential utility of the proposed site of Storer College as a means of generating interest and income in a letter to Nathan Brackett dated April 26, 1867: "I think the school should be at Harpers Ferry - the ground is historic - we can raise money for that place more readily. For instance, we will have a John Brown scholarship fund." Although such a scholarship was never established, the association of John Brown with Harpers Ferry was exploited by the college, most notably when it created a museum in the former Armory engine house after it was moved to the center of campus in 1909.

According to a letter from Ordnance officer Captain D.J. Young to A. B. Dyer dated February 17, 1868, the four former residences of Armory officers and their lots on Camp Hill were temporarily transferred that month from the Ordnance Department to the Freedman's Bureau for educational purposes. However, Captain Young, the representative of the Ordnance Department stationed in Harpers Ferry at the end of the Civil War, was opposed to the permanent transfer of these buildings to Storer College. As Anna Toogood noted in her historical study of Paymaster's Quarters, Young sent numerous letters to the Ordnance Department complaining about the conduct of students at the fledgling school.

Although the Ordnance Department had allowed Nathan Brackett and his colleagues to use the Paymaster's Quarters from the outset of the Shenandoah Mission, many members of the local community did not condone this agreement. According to a letter sent on April 21, 1868 from Captain Brubacker of the Freedmen's Bureau in Harper's Ferry to Assistant Commissioner C. H. Howard, relations between the town and the school were so volatile that a small military force was stationed at Harpers Ferry to protect the town's African-American residents. Brubacker described the increasing threat on violence in the Shenandoah Valley that spring:

Outrages upon Freedmen in Jefferson County are increasing to an extent, arousing to a degree of alarm, all freedmen and persons who have taken an active part, in advocating the rights of the freedmen and improving their condition. The civil authorities afford no protection. The trial of white man amounts to little more than a farce before a majority of magistrates in Jefferson County.

The resentment and anger many local residents had expressed against the early mission school established in the Paymaster's Quarters continued in the early years of Storer College. Although acts of outright violence were rare, the Bracketts and their fellow teachers often remembered their isolation from the white community in various reminiscences.

In 1868, a petition submitted to Congress from Storer College stockholders requested the transfer of the Paymaster's Quarters and the Superintendent's Clerk's House (which later became known as Brackett House) to Storer College. The petition specified that "Building No. 32 [the Paymaster's Quarters] has been occupied for nearly three years by a mission school for freedmen, which is still in operation, together with the Normal department established in October 1867." A bill to this effect was introduced and sponsored in the Senate by William Fessenden of Maine and in the House of Representatives by General James Garfield. In spite of persistent and intense local opposition, on December 15, 1868, Congress approved the transfer of the four former residences of Armory officials and seven acres of land on Camp Hill to Storer College. Numerous complaints and petitions were sent to government representatives in Washington in the hopes of persuading Congress to revoke the transfer of government property to the college, but no such resolution was approved. According to Mary Brackett Robinson's history of Storer College, local opposition prevented the use of buildings other than the Paymaster's Quarters until December 1869.

In 1872, eight students completed the course of study in the Normal Department and became the first graduating class from Storer College, according to an article on the history of the college in the March 1895 edition of the *Storer Record*. By the time this article was written, Storer College had greatly expanded, and Storer College graduates staffed all of the free schools for African-Americans in Jefferson County. Although an Industrial Department was added in the final decades of the nineteenth century, Storer did not become a degree-granting college until 1938. According to the writer's Project of the Works Progress Administration's guide to West Virginia, by 1948 Storer College owned fifteen buildings and forty acres of land. Along with an increase in the student body, new buildings had vastly expanded the physical setting of the college from its earliest humble beginnings in the Paymaster's Quarters.

Although the Paymaster's Quarters played an essential role in the founding of Storer College, it became a more peripheral building after classrooms and a chapel were dedicated in Anthony Hall, the former Superintendent's House on December 23, 1869, as Kate Anthony has noted. With this move, the physical center of the campus shifted from the Paymaster's Quarters at the crest of Camp Hill to the main buildings clustered around Anthony Hall. In spite of its more peripheral location, the Paymaster's Quarters continued to function as a dormitory and summer boarding house at least until 1929. Although the Paymaster's Quarters never played as central a role as it had in the founding years of Storer College, it did become an important landmark within the landscape of tourism and summer boarding in Harpers Ferry around the turn of the century.

PART II. ARCHITECTURAL INFORMATION

A. General Statement

1. Architectural character: The Paymaster's Quarters is a brick masonry building constructed on slightly modified double-pile, center-passage plan. Designed by Armory Superintendent John Symington as a one-story house with English basement, the well-crafted woodwork on the main floor distinguished this residence from other government buildings in Harpers Ferry. Between the basement and first floors, 1 ¾" of evenly graded coal cinders was laid in a sub-floor to provide a novel form of insulation. The Paymaster's Quarters was subject to two substantial additions: a second story in 1858 and a Mansard roof containing third-floor and attic rooms completed in 1883. In the late 1960s, the National Park Service removed the Mansard roof and restored the exterior of the Paymaster's Quarters to its appearance just before the Civil War.
2. Condition of Fabric: After the National Park Service acquired the Paymaster's Quarters in 1960, a restoration program was implemented. The reconstruction of the ca. 1858 roof and restoration of the exterior was completed in 1969. The exterior of the building remains in a comparatively excellent, although radically altered, condition. However, the interior of the building remains in fair to poor condition.

B. Description of Exterior:

1. Overall dimensions: The Paymaster's Quarters, a three-bay-by-two-bay structure, currently comprises two-stories plus an English basement. Constructed on a modified double-pile, center-passage plan, the house measures approximately 56' 5" x 50' ½", including the west gallery which is 10' 11" deep.
2. Foundations: The foundations are stone masonry using Harpers shale in various combinations of coursed and dressed rubble. The foundation walls were sunk about 3½ feet below grade and laid rubble style. Above grade they were face-dressed, of random size and coursing, and laid in horizontal bed courses. The foundation walls were capped by a fully dressed limestone belt course at the first floor level. The belt course stone had a semi-circular slot in its top surface that ran from end to end of the individual stones. This slot received the mortar of the bed joint of the brick wall above, thus forming a mechanical mortar lock which was stronger than that of a regular joint. The foundations extend out

approximately ten feet west of the main building to form the foundation for the west porch which includes a door to the basement on the northwest corner.

An areaway was constructed on the south and east sides of the house during the 1858 addition in an attempt to provide better ventilation of the basement level. The outer walls of the areaway were constructed of rubble stone masonry with large, flat shale flagstones along the top. Gravel lines the bottom of the areaway. The top portions of the areaway were reconstructed as part of the National Park Service exterior restoration in the late 1960s.

3. Walls: The walls are brick laid in common bond (5:1). They were repointed in the late 1960s by the National Park Service. One projecting course of bricks was laid near the top of the first floor, just above the stone lintels of the first-floor windows. The walls were originally painted in 1851, according to Armory records: "Two coats of patent paint, in oil, have been applied to the exterior walls...of the paymaster's ...quarters" (*Serial No. 611*, Document No. 1, p. 459). The bricks used in the 1858 addition are a distinctly different color than those used in the original structure.

4. Structural system, framing: The building is of wall-bearing brick masonry construction. The current roof system was constructed by the National Park Service in the late 1960s.

5. Porches, stoops, balconies, bulkheads: Both the east portico and the west gallery were constructed during the National Park Service late 1960s exterior restoration. The east portico is supported by a small foundation built on top of the outer areaway wall along this facade. A dressed course of stone was laid on top of the shale top of the areaway wall. The corner and sides of the portico foundation are brick while the front section was laid up with rubble stone. The wooden deck of the portico is supported by five joists running between the exterior wall and this low foundation. Seven steps lead to the wood deck and are flanked by a simple railing with square balusters. The portico's bracketed cornice is supported by four square pillars with two square pilasters flush against the exterior wall.

A two-story porch, or gallery, extends along the west facade. It was an almost complete reconstruction following an artist's sketch of the house during Sheridan's occupation of it (HF-341). Eight steps lead to the first-story wood deck which lies on the low stone foundations projecting out from the main building. The second-story deck and gallery roof are supported by six square pillars on each story which are echoed by pilasters against the exterior walls at the ends of the gallery. The pillars on the lower story are panelled and the second-story deck is lined with large dentils. The two outside corner posts have steel tie rods within them which are fastened to the foundation and extend through the rafter plate to anchor the roof and decks in case of wind. A small board and batten enclosure with a small casement window on its west face lies at the north end of the first-floor porch which, when originally constructed, may have been used as a pantry. Short balustrades line both stories of the gallery, although the upper story has narrower balusters placed closer together than those on the lower story.

6. Chimneys: The chimneys were constructed during the National Park Service restoration of the building in the late 1960s. The two rectangular, straight stacks were constructed of brick at north and south ends of the hipped roof. They each have a corbelled lip two brick courses thick and lead-coated copper flashing at their base.

7. Openings:

a. Doorways and doors: The Paymaster's Quarters has four exterior doors, one leading to the basement, two entrance doors on the first floor, and one on the second floor leading to the west gallery. All have four panels, but each has different trim. The entrance door on the east facade has narrow side lights and a tall cut stone sill. It is surmounted by an elaborate architrave with dentils which are supported by pilasters. The west entrance door has side lights, a cut stone sill, and a pedimented frontispiece. A rectangular transom window with four lights sits above a simple architrave which is supported by narrow pilasters flanking the door. The door on the second-floor leading to the gallery has side lights (three on each side) and a rectangular transom window with seven lights. This door has only a plain board architrave with no distinctive molding.

The basement door is cut into the west porch foundation on the north facade. It may be reached by four stone steps which lead down to a brick landing in front of the cut stone sill. Short rubble stone walls have been built up on the other two sides of the door to form this short stairwell. The door itself has plain wood reveals with a rounded edge.

b. Windows: The first-floor windows are double-hung, wood sash of six over six lights set in wood frames. They have cut stone lintels and sills. On the second floor, the windows are also wood sash of six over six lights, but they are shorter than those on the first floor. The second-floor windows have stone sills and are surmounted by jack arches. A small window in the south facade at the second-story level has been bricked-in as part of the late 1960s exterior restoration.

Unlike the windows on the upper stories, there are several different kinds of windows in the basement level. On the east and south facades, where the areaway was constructed, the windows have six over six lights, projecting cut stone sills and flush stone lintels. Although the two windows on the north facade have this same general form, they are shorter. The four windows in the west gallery foundations are six over three lights with projecting cut stone lintels.

8. Roof:

a. Shape, covering: The hipped roof meets at a peak in the center of the building and is covered with slate. This roof was built in the late 1960s as part of the National Park Service restoration program for this building.

b. Cornice, eaves: The brick cornice with limestone corner blocks constructed during the 1858 addition was not removed when the Mansard roof was completed in 1883. The top brick course is laid in rowlock fashion, projecting four inches, while in the course below it, also laid in rowlock fashion, every other brick projects an inch and a half to form a row of brick dentils. This cornice was restored to its former position and appearance during the National Park Service restoration. There is no overhang of the roof, although gutters line its perimeter, above the cornice and lead to

downspouts at the house's four corners.

C. Description of Interior:

1. Floor plans: The Paymaster's Quarters was originally a two story building with a basement which was constructed in a rectangular plan with four large rooms around a central stair hall. The first floor of the main building consists of two vestibules which used to have doors opening onto a center room; part of the west vestibule was partitioned off and converted into a shower/toilet compartment.

2. Stairways: The main stairway in the central hall leads in a straight run of twenty-two steps from first to second floors. It is a straight run from east to west and is located along the north wall. A door below this stairway on the west end of the central hall leads to a second stairway which runs from the first floor to the basement [not original - added after addition]. A third stairway is located on the second floor. It is oriented perpendicular to the main stairway (runs south to north) and was added as a means of access to the third floor and attic rooms beneath the mansard roof added in 1883. Both this staircase and the one leading from the first to second floors were finished around this same time with turned balusters of pine and oak, walnut handrailings, and turned walnut newel posts.

3. Flooring: Originally, the basement flooring was comprised of a sub-floor paved with a rubble and mortar mixture which was supposed to prevent ground moisture from entering the house. A brick finish floor was laid in a setting bed of loose sand above the sub-floor. [filled in with cement floors-some at time that "modern heating system" was installed]

An layer of insulation was installed in a sub-floor between the basement and first floor containing 1" of evenly graded coal cinders. The cinders were placed immediately below the floor boards of the floor above; they rested on loose boards which were supported by ledger boards nailed to the sides of the joists. The floor boards on the first floor level varies from 4" to 7" in width, except when replaced by 2" strips. They run north to south over a framework of joists supported by wooden beams and secured by wood pins driven through a mortise and tenon joint.

[2nd floor: A concrete floor slab was poured over the existing floor of a small room on the second floor to be used as a shower and toilet room. Although this slab was removed during the National Park Service exterior restoration, the flooring was not replaced or restored to its original condition.]

4. Wall and ceiling finish: Plastered on wood or directly on masonry; "The plaster ceilings have wood strips nailed through the plaster to the lath and joists to keep the cracked plaster from falling." Baseboards on the first floor: the top of the plain board of the baseboard is rabbeted to receive the tongue of the bottom of the cap molding. Such intricate joinery is not found in other existing government buildings in Harpers Ferry. According to Franzen, "The outer walls of the first floor only are furred out with 2" by 2 3/4" wood studs set free of the outer brick wall forming an air space varying from 3 1/2" to 4" in depth."

5. Openings:

a. Doorways and doors: Pedimented frames with plaster rosettes on first floor; doors are generally four panels. According to Franzen: "The wood trim of the windows, doors and baseboard of the [first floor] are unusual in the manner in which they are assembled. The casings and plinths of the doors and windows are rabbeted to receive the molded cap of the baseboard." This was not done on second floor, however. Closet doors are missing in northwest and northeast rooms on first floor; second-floor doors are badly damaged.

b. Windows: The first floor windows originally had interior shutters which were designed to fold into recesses in the jamb casings of the window reveals, and are evidenced by the remaining lower sections in southwest room and upper sections in northwest room remain] On each of the first floor windows, plaster rosettes were attached with wood screws to the surrounds, four across the pediment and six along the face of the casings on each side of the window. A few examples of these remain. In comparison, the window casings on the second floor are remarkably plain and are not rabbeted to receive the baseboard as they were on the first floor.

6. Decorative features and trim: There is wood wainscoting in the central hall and in parts of the hasement and stair hall on the second floor; and there are molded plaster cornices in the southeast room and adjacent vestibule on the first floor: mantels were removed during Civil War occupation.

7. Hardware: Many of the doors still have their original hinges, although all of the original rim locks have been removed. Although some of the original shutter dogs were extant in the 1960s, they were removed during the National Park Service's restoration of the structure.

8. Mechanical equipment:

a. Heating, air conditioning, ventilation: The Paymaster's Quarters originally had its own insulation system. A subfloor beneath the first story flooring created a space which held 1" of coal cinders. Fireplaces have been blocked off, and thimbles provided for stoves; heater or boiler pit was once installed in the basement, but has been removed. Radiator piping was installed as part of 1940s renovation as part of the steam heat system.

b. Lighting: According to the minutes of the Executive Board of Storer College, electricity was installed in the Paymaster's Quarters in 1899 (vol. 11, p. 200).

D. Site:

1. Historic landscape design: The Paymaster's Quarters was built on the summit of a knoll above Harper's Cemetery on an outcropping of slate rock. This was the same site formerly occupied by Captain Hall's house which had been built in 1827. As Superintendent Symington noted in a letter to Col. Talcott on August 11, 1848, "These quarters are on the same site of those formerly occupied by Capt. Hall. The grounds are improved and garden

made so that a trifling expense will put them in proper order" (Reel 23, vol. 10, pp. 978-85). Captain Hall's son William Hall had described the gardens in a letter which was forwarded to the Ordnance Department in November 1840. His father had apparently gone to great lengths to create these gardens, and his son wished to be reimbursed by the government for this expense after Captain Hall's contract with the federal government had been cancelled:

Its present beauty and elegance, & comfort is owing almost entirely to his arrangement & has been effected at his expense. He has enclosed nearly two acres of land divided it by good fences into gardens and yards cleared it of rocks & hushes with which it was entirely covered, levelled the inequalities and arranged in steps the declinities, made a soil by hauling fertile earth from a distance, and placed the whole in this present state of cultivation. My father has also planted more than one hundred trees producing the choicest fruits of the climate. Nearly an equal number of grape vines of the most valuable kinds, known in America & Europe all of which are in a very flourishing condition and heavily ornamented... In addition to these, there is a great variety of the most rare & beautiful flowers, & shrubbery; - Asparagus and strawberry &c. The principal expense of which is in the setting.

These gardens may not have survived intact after Captain Hall left Harpers Ferry, and may have been damaged during construction of the Paymaster's Quarters. However, some traces of this extensive garden may have remained until troops and shelling badly damaged both the natural and constructed landscape of Camp Hill during the Civil War.

In his annual report for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1849, Symington noted that "about 80 panels of paling fence [had been] put up to enclose the grounds attached" to the new Paymaster's Quarters (*Serial No. 503*, Document No. 1, p. 693). More fencing may have been erected surrounding the grounds of the Paymaster's Quarters by June 30, 1859, as indicated in Superintendent Alfred M. Barbour's annual report for fiscal year 1858-59 (*Serial No. 1025*, p. 1114). An archeological investigation of the grounds in 1964 revealed evidence of a brick walk which was located three to six feet below grade level at the time of the investigation. A similar walkway leading from the edge of the cellar toward Brackett House can also be seen in J. E. Taylor's drawing of "General Sheridan's Headquarters at Harpers Ferry" which was published in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* on September 3, 1864 (HF-341).

When first erected, the Paymaster's Quarters was one of two substantial brick buildings on the crest of Camp Hill. Although by this time many frame and roughcast stone dwellings had been constructed on the north side of Camp Hill for armory workers, the Paymaster's Quarters distinguished itself from this cluster of houses by its location at the summit of the hill, its fine materials, and distinctive architectural details.

2. Outbuildings: In a letter dated August 11, 1848 defending the alleged excessive cost of erecting residences for the Superintendent and Paymaster to the Ordnance Department, Symington noted that an outbuilding to store wood and coal along with privies had been erected on the grounds of the Paymaster's Quarters (Reel 23, vol. 10, pp. 978-85). The storage building was a brick structure with a wood shingle roof which measured 18' x 20'. In her letter to President McDonald of September 6, 1917, Martha W. L. Smith indicated that in the early years of Storer College, "there was a small brick building, a smoke house

perhaps, at a little distance from the northwest corner" of the Paymaster's Quarters. This must have been the outbuilding that Symington had mentioned. In 1848, Congress appropriated \$170 for the construction of a cistern which could hold 12,000 gallons of water on the grounds of the Paymaster's Quarters. As Symington noted in his request, "this dwelling, and others on the hill above the works, are so distant from supplies of water that cisterns are necessary for all domestic purposes, as well as in case of fire" (*Serial No. 514*, Document No. 2, pp. 110-11, item No. 5).

An old rough-cast, stone stable remained on the property which presumably was erected by Hall around the same time as the construction of his house ca. 1827. In a letter to Col. Craig dated September 17, 1858, Clowe submitted a proposal for an additional \$1500 to be used to construct a rain water cistern (\$200), whitewash fences on the grounds (\$75), and erect three stables and two smoke/storage houses for the residences of the paymaster, the master armorer, and two clerks (\$1225) (Clowe to Craig, September 27, 1858, Photostat Collection, vol. 3, p. 84). Col. Craig did not approve either this proposal or a similar one submitted by Superintendent Barbour in 1860. Although funds were finally allocated for the construction of a new stable in March 1861, Confederate troops seized the Armory in Harpers Ferry on April 19, 1861 before this could be accomplished.

PART III. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

A. Architectural drawings:

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park collection, Architect's files, Brackett House:

Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS), Paymaster's Quarters (WV-179),
Measured drawings (17 sheets), July-August 1958.

National Park Service, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, Walmer,
Paymaster's Quarters, Working drawings for restoration (56-1 - 56-7),
February 1964.

National Park Service, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, A. W. Franzen,
Park Architect, and Walmer, Paymaster's Quarters, Working drawings for
roof restoration, September 1965.

National Park Service, Denver Service Center, L. Sutphin, Archie Franzen, M.
Ramsay, and J. Kozel, Paymaster's House, Working drawings, April 21,
1972.

B. Early views:

Photographs in collection of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park:

HF-47 Harpers Ferry viewed from base of Maryland Heights, 1861
(Lockwood House is hidden behind the trees)

PAYMASTER'S QUARTERS (Lockwood House)
HABS No. WV-179 (Page 47)

HF-341	General Sheridan's Headquarters at Harpers Ferry, drawing, 1864 J.E. Taylor, <i>Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper</i> (Sept. 3, 1864)
HF-78	Harpers Ferry from the Maryland Shore, from just above the railroad bridge, 1866
HF-352	Harpers Ferry, stereoptican view #184, 1870-76?
HF-78	Bollman Bridge crossing the Potomac from Maryland shore into Lower Town, Harpers Ferry, 1877-1880
HF-901	View of Lower Town from Maryland Heights, 1895
HF-62	View of Virginius Island and Camp Hill from Loudoun Heights, 1890-1900
HF-282	Looking towards the Gap from Camp Hill, Harpers Ferry, 1915
HF-292	Aerial view of Camp Hill at Harpers Ferry, 1932
HF-288a	Aerial view of Harpers Ferry, Camp Hill and Lower Town, 1932
HF-473	Postcard of Paymaster's House, 1904
HF-901	East entrance of Paymaster's House, interior of hall, 1915
NHF-1785	Paymaster's House, east facade, 1957-58
NHF-1806	Paymaster's House from Harper's Cemetery, ca. 1950s-60s
NHF-2035	Camp Hill from Maryland Heights, ca. 1960s
NHF-2193	Paymaster's House, March 1963
NHF-2326	Paymaster's House, west facade, July 17, 1963
NHF-2327	Paymaster's House, east facade, July 17, 1963
NHF-2328	Paymaster's House, July 17, 1963
NHF-2947	Paymaster's House, west facade, prior to restoration, December 1965
NHF-2954	Paymaster's House, west facade, prior to restoration, December 1965
NHF-3243	Paymaster's House (Lockwood), dedication ceremony, May 20, 1969
NHF-3244	Paymaster's House (Lockwood) sign, dedication ceremony, May 20, 1969
NHF-3247	Corina Higginson Rogers and Senator Jennings with sign at dedication ceremony, May 20, 1969
NHF-3491	Paymaster's House, ca. 1970s
NHF-3492	Paymaster's House, ca. 1970s
NHF-3393	Paymaster's House, Fall 1972

C. Bibliography:

1. Primary sources:

Harpers Ferry National Historical Park Collection, Harpers Ferry, WV:

Deeds, Jefferson County Courthouse, Charles Town, West Virginia.

National Archives Collection:

Higgs, Lieut. Supt. A.F. "Inspection Report: Harpers Ferry." Vol. 2, No. 1815A A.C.D.G. 1867, April 23, 1867. R.G. 105.

Newspapers:

Virginia Free Press
Spirit of Jefferson
Farmers Advocate

Records of the War Department. Letters and documents on microfilm (Park Reels).

Storer College Data, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Harpers Ferry, WV:

Anthony, Kate. *Storer College: A Brief Historical Sketch, 1867-1891*.
Boston: Morning Star Publishing House, 1891.

Brackett, Mrs. N. C. "Storer College: A Chapter of History." Undated
manuscript.

Brackett, Rev. N. C. *Bio. Sketch of Rev. A. H. Morrell*. Boston: Morning
Star Publishing House, n.d. (ca. 1885).

"History of Storer College," *Storer Record* 12 (March 1894): 3-4.

Newcomer, Celeste Brackett. "Nathan Cook Brackett." Undated manuscript.

Smith, Martha W.L. "Early History of Storer College." Letter to Henry T.
McDonald, Sept. 6, 1917.

Robertson, Mary Brackett. "Traditions and Memories." Speech delivered at
Third Founders Day Program, Harpers Ferry, WV, February 26,
1937.

"A Talk with a Southern Educator," *Lewiston Journal* (1906).

2. Published sources:

Ames, Mary Clemmer. "Yankee Teachers in the Valley of Virginia." *The
Independent* XIX (Jan. 3, 1867).

Arter, Jared Maurice. *Echoes from a Pioneer Life*. Atlanta: A.B. Caldwell Pub.
Co., 1922.

Barry, Joseph. *The Strange Story of Harpers Ferry*. Martinsburg, WV: Thompson
Brothers, 1903.

Burlingame-Cheney, Emeline. *The Story of the Life and Work of Oren B. Cheney*.
Boston: Morning Star Publishing House, 1907.

Bushong, Millard K. *Historic Jefferson County*. Boyce, VA: Carr Publishing Co.,

1972.

Gilbert, David T. *A Walker's Guide to Harpers Ferry, West Virginia*. Fifth edition. Harpers Ferry: Harpers Ferry National Historical Association, 1995.

Hunter, H.H. "One Former Resident Remembers Harpers Ferry as Thriving Community Even Before Harpers Ferry National Park." *Spirit of Jefferson* (June 11, 1981).

Josephus, Jr. *The Annals of Harper's Ferry*. Hagerstown, MD: Dechart & Co., 1869. (transcript).

Raber, Michael S. "Conservative Innovators, Military Small Arms, Industrial History at Springfield Armory, 1794-1918." *IA: The Journal of the Society for Industrial Archeology* 14:1 (1988): 1-22.

Reilly, Wayne E. *Sarah Jane Foster: Teacher of Freedmen*. Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1990.

Smith, Merritt Roe. *Harpers Ferry Armory and the New Technology*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977.

Spencer, Randolph E. *Paw Paw to Ph.D.* Washington, D.C.: ESPress, 1977.

Weaver, Sherry A. "Storer College: The View from Camp Hill." *American Visions* 2 (June 1987): 8-9.

Williams, John Alexander. *West Virginia*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1976.

Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration. *West Virginia: A Guide to the Mountain State*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1948.

3. Harpers Ferry National Historical Park Reports:

Barker, John and Mary Johnson. "Status Report on Discontinuance of Package 121."

Harpers Ferry: National Park Service/University of Maryland Cooperative Agreement, December 1991.

Flanagan, Edward R. "Status Report on Furnishings: The Paymaster's House (Lockwood House)." Harpers Ferry: National Park Service, 1975.

Franzen, Archie W. "Historic Structures Report Part II: Architectural Data Section on the Paymaster's Quarters Sometimes Called the Lockwood House (Building #56)." Harpers Ferry: National Park Service, September 1963.

Gilbert, Cathy, Maureen De Lay Joseph, and Perry Carpenter Wheelock. "Cultural Landscape Report: Lower Town, Harpers Ferry, National Historical Park." Harpers Ferry: National Park Service, 1993.

Hershey, William D. "Archeological Survey of the Lockwood House (Paymaster's House)." Harpers Ferry: National Park Service, May 1964.

Ingersoll, William T. "Historic Structures Report Part II: Historical Data Section on the Lockwood House, Building No. 56 (The Paymaster's Quarters) Armory Building No. 32." Harpers Ferry: National Park Service, Feb. 27, 1963.

Mongin, Alfred. "Research Report: A College in Secessia, the Early Years of Storer College." Harpers Ferry: National Park Service, June 15, 1960.

Noffsinger, James P. "Harpers Ferry, West Virginia: Contributions Towards a Physical History." Philadelphia: National Park Service, Eastern Office of Design and Construction, November 1958.

Smith, Philip R., Jr. "Research Report of Paymaster's Quarters, Camp Hill, (Lockwood House, Storer College) Harpers Ferry, 1848-1867." Harpers Ferry: National Park Service, March 23, 1959.

———. "Research Report History of Paymaster's Clerk's Quarters, Camp Hill (Morrell House, Storer College) Harpers Ferry, 1857-1967." Harpers Ferry: National Park Service, March 26, 1959.

———. "Research Report History of Superintendent's Clerk's Quarters, Camp Hill (Brackett House, Storer College) Harpers Ferry, 1857-1967." Harpers Ferry: National Park Service, March 27, 1959.

Toogood, Anna Cox. "The Lockwood House, Birthplace of Storer College: Furnishings Study Historical Data Section." Harpers Ferry: National Park Service/Division of History, January 3, 1969.

Wallace, David H. "Furnishing Plan for Classroom and Kitchen, Paymaster's House." Harpers Ferry: National Park Service, October 1974.

D. Likely Sources Not Yet Investigated:

Storer College Catalogs and *Storer Record* in the artifact collections of the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park

PAYMASTER'S QUARTERS (Lockwood House)
HABS No. WV-179 (Page 51)
31

E. Supplemental Material:

"Estimated Cost of Addition to Paymaster's Quarters at Harpers Ferry Armory," June 3, 1858
(Henry W. Clowe to Col. Henry K. Craig, Reel 25, v. 1, p. 63)

3,600 brick @ 12¢	\$540.00
6,000 feet Lumber	180.00
4,168 feet Joists, @ 1½¢ per ft.	62.52
500 feet Lintels, @ 1½¢ per ft.	7.50
1,000 feet Studding @ 1½¢ per ft.	15.00
2,700 feet Slating @ \$9 pdg	243.00
860 yards Plastering @ 25¢	215.00
10 Window sills @ \$3 ea.	30.00
Painting, glazing & materials	225.00
Hardware & Nails	40.00
Material for Pantry	18.00
Material for Gallery	70.00
Material for Portico	40.00
2,500 feet flooring @ 3¢	45.00
1,200 feet Stud partition @ 1¢	12.00
10 Double Bay Windows @ \$10 ea.	110.00
Framing joints	40.00
4 Wardrobes @ \$10 eac.	40.00
Washboards	20.00
Stairs	180.00
Doors and Jambs	40.00
Four mantels	24.00
Roofing	80.00
Front portico	100.00
Back Gallery	150.00
Pantry	25.00
Clothes Press	18.00
Damages likely to occur to first & for repairs of same	120.00
New metal Roof to Gallery	67.00
Repairs of Basement Story	100.00
Excavation around 2 sides of Basement	400.00
Hauling and incidental expenses	150.00

Total: 3,464.02

PART IV. PROJECT INFORMATION

This project was sponsored by the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park and the National Park Service, Donald W. Campbell, Superintendent, under the direction of Peter Dessauer, Park Architect. The documentation was undertaken by the Historic American Building Survey (HABS), Robert J. Kapsch, Chief, under the direction of Paul Dolinsky, Chief of HABS; with the assistance of HABS Architect Frederick J. Lindstrom and HABS Historian Catherine C. Lavoie. The first phase of the project was completed during the summer of 1994. The second phase of the project was completed during the summer of 1995 at Harpers Ferry National Historical Park by project supervisor Elizabeth Loudon (Texas Institute of Technology) and field foreman Mary Ellen Strain (Florida State University) with architecture technicians Jennifer Andrews (University of Arizona), Árpád Furu (Budapest Technical University, through US-ICOMOS), Burke Greenwood (Miami University), Randy Plaisance (Tulane University), and Barbara Stein (Harvard University). The project historian was Sheila R. Crane (Northwestern University). Chief Park Historian Bruce Noble and Project Historians Patricia Chickering, Michael Jenkins, and Mary Johnson provided invaluable assistance and a useful orientation to the historical resources of Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. The park's historical database, which has been developed by historians working under a cooperative agreement with the University of Maryland, has been an essential resource for all historical reports produced for this project. Photographs were produced by Jack E. Boucher, HABS photographer.